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## BOOK REVIEWS

**Judicial Settlement of Controversies Between States of the American Union.** An Analysis of Cases Decided in the Supreme Court of the United States. By *James Brown Scott*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1919. Pp. i-xiii + 1-543. \$—.

If the men who attempted at Paris to lay the foundations for a permanent international peace had familiarized themselves with the eighty-one cases arising between the States of the American Union and decided by the Supreme Court of this nation, they could not have been so justly charged with political amateurishness. To talk of the settlement of international disputes without knowing these classic international settlements is dilettanteism running wild. To know something of the rise of judicial procedure between States in the American Union is indispensable to any clear international thinking, for the Supreme Court sat upon issues between States as an international court applying international law. Questions arising out of the suability of States and the adoption of the eleventh amendment of the Constitution are concrete international questions. The same is true of questions of jurisdiction, procedure, and the appearance of a defendant State. How the United States has itself become plaintiff and defendant in suits has its international significance. How out of these decisions we have developed "a government of laws and not of men" is of real international importance, the one outstanding effective agency operating between the breakdown of diplomacy and the outbreak of war. A specific for war, indeed, has been the Supreme Court of the United States. Members of the American Peace Society—indeed, all persons—interested to have an intelligent perspective of international affairs, will wish to have this book beside the author's other text of which this is a development, namely, James Madison's Notes of Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787 and Their Relation to a More Perfect Society of Nations.

**The Poetry of Peace.** Selected by *R. M. Leonard*. Oxford University Press, New York, 1918. Pp. 124.

"From the fall of Lucifer to the fall of Kruger," this little Book does not contain poems from the singers who have died on the field of battle, nor indeed from any of the younger contemporary poets, yet by this little compilation the author has rendered to us a service. Beginning with the dialogue between Westmoreland, the Archbishop, Mowbray, and others from the fourth act of the second part of King Henry IV, the last two poems being "A Brighter Hellas," by Shelley, and "Reinforcements," by T. T. Lynch, the brave wars of peace will receive reinforcements, indeed, from those who did not know the agony of the bloody sweat of these latter years. We must confess that much of the poetry of peace is not poetry, but here in this little book the real poetry of peace is seen to be dignified, worthy, and interpretive.

**Disabled Soldiers' and Sailors' Pensions and Training.** No. 12 of the Preliminary Economic Studies of the War. By *Edward Devine* and *Lilian Brandt*. Edited by David Kinley. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History. New York Oxford University Press, 1919. Pp. 461. \$1.00.

Seventeen chapters of this book deal with disabilities caused by the World War. The following sixty-nine pages deal historically with disabled soldiers and sailors of the past, and also with men disabled in civil life. Five chapters tell of developments in Great Britain, France, Germany and Austria, and the United States. The last four chapters tell of general characteristics, physical restoration, financial indemnities, and economic re-establishment. Modified as these studies must necessarily be by subsequent events, they

constitute a valuable preview of one of the most essential problems facing post-war social reorganization.

**Democracy and the Eastern Question.** By *Thomas F. Millard*. The Century Company, New York. Pp. 446. \$3.00.

Mr. Millard's qualifications as a veteran war correspondent naturally secured for him important assignments when the war between Russia and Japan broke, and his disheartening experiences in Tokio with other celebrities of his profession there assembled, when they had innumerable dinners at Japan's expense, but never got to the front, induced in him a resentment against all things Japanese, which has not abated during the intervening years while he has been editing the *China Press* and *Millard's Review*, both published at Shanghai, and while he has been writing a series of informing discussions of Far Eastern problems, of which this book is the latest, but we trust not the last, from his pen.

Making due allowance for any memories of personal or professional humiliation which Mr. Millard may have suffered at the hands of the Japanese Government and for any distortion of his vision which that fact may have caused, it still remains true that in this book, as well as in his earlier ones on "The New Far East" and "America and the Far Eastern Question," he has amassed information about the policies and acts of Japan, China, and the Powers of the West in their interrelations which has not been made accessible elsewhere in a form to be had by the public. He has found ways and means of getting possession of documents of state that often give the lie to the speeches of statesmen and the formal pledges of ministries and governments. He has been a thorn in the flesh for the Japanese Foreign Office for many years now; and by this book he has brought down upon his head the disapproval of the American Department of State.

Obviously, the book having thus been placed on the Index Expurgatorius, it is in demand. But there are intrinsic reasons why it should be read by all who can gain access to it. It is a mine of documentary evidence bearing upon the first and secondary stages of the dispute between China and Japan over the Shantung province and reversion of Germany's rights to Japan. With the negotiations at Paris and the victory of Japan there it does not deal; but directly and indirectly it sheds a flood of light on phases of the dispute that have come to the surface since the United States Senate began its investigation of the Shantung settlement arrived at by the Peace Conference, since Secretary of State Lansing gave his testimony and since both Japan's Foreign Minister and President Wilson made their official comments (August 7) on the situation.

Mr. Millard's basic demand is for an end to imperialism, militarism, and commercial exploitation in the Far East. He thus justifies the title of his book. Japan, according to him, is imitating old Europe, with Prussian models before her, and, having an essentially autocratic, oligarchic, and feudal conception of society still dominating a majority of her governing class, whether of the old military clans or of the latter-day plutocrats, she is today the open, but more often the secret, foe of a Chinese or a Russian democracy; and she has as distinct and clearly outlined a program for conquest of Asia politically and commercially as Germany had ere she defied the world. Mr. Millard, whether as an American or as a believer in national home rule and China for China, Russia for Russia, and India for India, is out to fight this Japanese earth-hunger and imposition of Nippon upon Asia.

**Collapse and Reconstruction.** By *Sir Thomas Barclay*. Little, Brown & Company, Boston. Pp. 315. \$2.50, net.

The author of this book is an eminent English barrister of international renown as a thinker and writer on interna-

tional law. To erudition he joins independence of character and frankness of utterance, so that his output is never conventional or traditional or vague as to its meaning. This book was written and published before the final terms of the Treaty of Peace with Germany were announced, but after the text of the Covenant of the proposed League of Nations was issued for the jurists, statesmen, journalists, and ethical teachers of the nations to debate pending its ratification or rejection. Sir Thomas is of the opinion that had responsible officials of the Europe of yesterday not turned deaf ears to the warnings of those who knew about the perils that were involved in a possible break up of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, of the aspirations of the Russian proletariat, and the meaning of the demand for "social democracy," and if they had not relied on "superannuated and imperfect sources of information," then the war and its shattering sequela might have been avoided. He has no illusions as to the "will to peace" being equivalent to peace itself, for it is "the reasonableness of mankind" that in the last analysis will end war, and not the artifices of statesmen and diplomats; and "the most backward nation in the community of nations makes the peace in civilization." Wars, he holds, often are but forms of collective gambling, seldom unpopular with the masses, and appealing to "the spoliative instincts of mankind."

Facing the problems of reconstruction, he is realist enough to admit at once that it will have to be done by statesmen with "the materials they possess, insufficient as they may be." They must look beyond the occasions of war to its causes. Too much emphasis on the former and too little on the latter, in his opinion, is the grave indictment which may be brought legitimately against "the peace movements of a generation of civilized mankind; in fact, is due to concentration on arbitration and other methods of dealing with in-

cidents of international trouble and not with causes." Permanent peace, in his opinion, can only follow a reconstruction, which recognizes as its governing principles:

1. The avoidance of solutions which create or which will or may be reasonably expected to create a national grievance or grievances, present or future.

2. The avoidance of solutions which may reasonably be regarded as having a humiliating character.

3. Consideration for reasonable claims of any State which do not essentially curtail the reasonable realization by another State of its geographical and economic requirements.

While thoroughly in sympathy with the general contention that more "open diplomacy" and abolition of secret treaties will do much to hasten generally diffused peace and lessening of war, Sir Thomas, as one who, to quote his own words, "has made a lifelong study of diplomacy and its methods, especially as an outsider unbound by Foreign Office restrictions," nevertheless candidly remarks that "in the course of a war, or even in the midst of an ordinary heated international controversy, argument in public is necessarily tinged with its glow, and it is in the detached coolness of privacy, and even secrecy, alone that preliminaries and details can be effectively discussed." He credits President Wilson with understanding this, and with the broader contention that "no secret agreements be made finally binding upon nations without their knowledge and consent," adding: "The experience of late years and modern notions of government cannot but encourage the President to insist on this publicity in the interest of civilized mankind." He urges far more close and vital connections between the British Foreign Office and Parliament and utilization by Great Britain of sources of information in shaping her foreign policy now ignored or imperfectly utilized.

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